581 It was not felt necessary to marry. Because of the strong
589 economic position of women, a few spinsters had their own homes, farmed their own lands, enlisting nephews and nieces to help, or hiring as needed, and entered fully into the social life of the area. Others lived with relatives and assisted in the maintenance of a larger household unit. Some men, too, never married.
[593] One group of grown siblings of both sexes stated they were "too happy together to marry."

836 Pre-marital chastity was more or less observed. If a girl became pregnant before marriage, her parents brought pressure,
848 usually successful, on the boy to marry her. The occasional illegitimate child was raised without stigma in the girl's family, though problems arose during pregnancy and delivery (cf. "cone of wood" below). The mother later found a husband. One father was angered because he felt his daughter's pregnancy wrecked her chances for a marriage of prestige. He was conspicuous for his social aspirations towards city ways.

864 Information on human sexual matters was gathered by the
831 young sometimes by accidental observation of parents and others, through hints from hearing cursing, and by conversations with grandparents, older siblings, and friends of the same sex. Men joked on sex matters at the all-male rice-uprooting parties. Being antithetic to the ascetic prescriptions of Buddhism, sex talk was highly charged. Sex was never discussed in mixed company.

Residence

592 The nuclear family of husband, wife, and unmarried children
[591] was the primary social and productive unit, but other resident kinship units larger and smaller also occurred. After marriage, the couple usually lived for a time in the house of the parents of one spouse or the other; then, as soon as they could afford it, set up housekeeping in their own house. Of a sample of 96 families in Bang Chan, 30 set up independent households at once after marriage, 16 after one year, and the rest, a few per year, on throughout 10 years; 15 of the families never had a house of their own but lived with other relatives (Janlekha:37). Of 298 families, 59.4 per cent lived independently as a nuclear family, while 34.9 per cent lived with other relatives in the house. (The remaining were single persons living alone, or priests at the temple in the "ecclesiastical family.") The
361 average size of the households (not necessarily the nuclear families) was 5.7 persons, with a range of 1 to 14, the median being 6 (ibid. 28-29). The house of a new couple was usually
621 built adjacent to parents or relatives, and certainly within calling distance or sight of some other household. Social patterns of cooperative work, borrowing, and visiting kept adjacent households, whether kin, co-religionists or not, in

close touch with each other's activities and needs.

These residence arrangements had considerable bearing on the amount of help at hand for a pregnant, parturient, or lactating woman, especially since every woman expected to bear her child at home. A woman's first child was often born while she was still resident in the house of her parents or parents-in-law. If the separate household had been set up, and especially if there were other small children, a parturient's mother or other relative came to stay with her for delivery and post-delivery care, or a woman might return to her parental or her husband's home for the event. In fact, since husbands and wives were both needed in the fields, it took great diligence for a woman, without extra kinfolk in the house, to carry on child-care, cooking, and field-work, and then undergo child-bearing besides. The extensive overlap in the division of labor (Sharp et al. 1953:94-98), though, resulted in much sharing by husbands in the household chores, so that the burdens were somewhat eased. Help in child-birth was one of the areas of mutual aid freely accorded by neighbors, so all women could count on adequate or even ample help at this time.

Wealth Differences:

Way of Life

Real polarities of wealth existed. A well-to-do person owned rice fields, a good house, and had many devoted kinsmen. Teachers who were governmental civil servants and a few of the traders were somewhat better off because they had regular sources of cash. A poor man, owning no land, lived humbly and hired out at day labor and other odd jobs. Yet the way of life of the well-to-do was not very different from that of the poor. Practically all persons worked in the fields or at related activities, wore the same cotton clothes, and ate the same food. Rice was plentiful. Fish, fruit, vegetables, and fuel could be amply obtained practically without cost, though it was also possible to spend money on these. Yet here and there persons were beginning to lose their old satisfaction in life as a farmer. Changes were beginning to come in, heralded by such things as hair permanently waved, gasoline pressure-lamps, increased geographical and political awareness, grumbling over the cost of living, and frustration over rising expectations. Urban life as met with in Bangkok was viewed with some awe as a glittering universe with different ideas and needs, yet also with some uneasiness. The city dwellers sometimes looked down on the country dwellers and made them feel uncomfortable.

Within the community all women received about the same service. Though the poor felt the 20 to 30 baht cost[5] of a midwife was too expensive, and so utilized the free help of a compassionate kinsman (usually the mother) or neighbor, the latter sometimes were as expert manually as a midwife or even on their way to becoming one. The few critical cases, rich or poor, who were taken to the MInburi Health Center managed to pay the 60 to 70 baht fee (120 baht if penicillin were used).

General Attitudes Towards Having Children

In these farm families, children were an asset, for their help, skills, and earnings enriched the family. Boys and girls were equally desired. A girl did household chores and at her marriage brought in the considerable payment of "milk money." A boy could be ordained and so "bring merit" to his parents. Both could farm, and both would provide cherishing care to the parents in their old age, but this was expected particularly of daughters. A child usually arrived within a year or so of marriage, to the rejoicing of everyone. Until the birth of a child, marriage only partially changed the young couple's status, especially if they were still living under the parental roof. With children they became the heads of a family, with authority over, and responsibility for, a younger generation. In the few polygynous households, the position of a younger wife was enhanced when she bore a child. Sometimes on the birth of this or another child, the money paid to the bride's parents at the time of the wedding was turned over to the new mother. Title to some of the familial land, never given until a marriage had proved stable, might be conveyed to one spouse or the other. The arrival of a child was sometimes a signal for preparations for moving out and establishing an independent household, or for establishing a "second kitchen," i.e. two separate families living under a single roof. A study of the birth-rituals (Chap.V) gives evidence that the arrival of a child, especially the first, was of deep psychological and social significance to the parents. The marriage bonds were strengthened if the first-born were male (cf. p. 65). A couple without children was "sad" and "a little less rich." Barrenness was caused by lack of merit.

5. Analysis of Janlekha's figures, borne out in observation, shows that per capita income was low, that there were many poor people, and because of the seasonal nature of income, even the rich were short of cash (1955:135-143). Ninety-two baht were the average "expenses for medicine" including delivery fees (1955:142).

Chapter IV

THE BIRTH OF A CHILD

Dûan and her husband, Song, had a 2 year old son, Chai.[32] They lived and worked with her widowed mother, Lek, and her unmarried sister, Mi. The comfortable house stood high on piles, surrounded by rice fields. On a nearby mound lived Sek, 60 years old and full of energy, the youngest sister of her grandmother.

843 [592] [342]

Now Dûan noticed that again her menses had stopped. Her mother had described before her marriage what this meant. With happiness in her eyes, as the first time, she told her husband, then her mother, and at the first opportunity, her husband's parents. There was no reason to keep her pregnancy secret. Since she and Song would be happy to have either a boy or a girl, she did not seek out the ritual means which existed to induce a child of a particular sex.

During the months of anticipation, Dûan worked along as usual in farming and house-keeping. Lek reminded her of prudent behavior. "Women are easily upset when pregnant. It is up to you to put yourself in a cheerful mood. Everything you do will affect the infant in your womb. If you see a scarred person, your child will be scarred. Be calm, look only at pleasant things and avoid jerky motions. Do not overeat, lest the child be a glutton. If you sleep during the day and are inactive, you will also have a lazy child. Some girls are trying to be like Bangkok people, pleading that they cannot do heavy work in the last few weeks of pregnancy, but that will cause a difficult labor."

To increase her appetite, early in her pregnancy Dûan visited a Chinese pharmacist to get medicine. He had so [278]

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32. This account puts together data from several informants. Particularly illuminating phrasings are quoted exactly, over and above the conversations, which, though fictionalized, are also direct transcriptions.

What differences in circumstances existed that might affect nutritional level? On the one hand were relatively isolated nuclear families, which we estimated as 15-20% of the families, living in tiny separate cottages.[1] Usually with inadequate or no land, they earned an irregular income by hiring themselves out for farm or other work. At the other extreme, in a hamlet-like cluster of dwellings, lived a closely affiliated group of kin. A senior couple more or less headed the married sisters, brothers, or children, maybe with a hired man, or family that as autonomous households cooperated amicably in economic and domestic tasks. We estimated these as 20-25% of the Bang Chan families. The larger social unit, having more hands to produce, and to share tasks, was better able to provide good food and general health care to its members, than a small isolated family. Four problems more easily handled by the larger group were household chores and child-care, farming, borrowing, and earning money.

Young children had to be constantly tended lest they fall into the water, the fire, or under the buffalo's feet. They never entered the fields during work. Fishing and gathering of water plants was complicated because in boats, small children had to be held. Where there were but two parents and young children, one parent could not do many things until the other came home. Perhaps neither partner could stay away long enough to get a big batch of fish or greens from the canal, or go to the store. Cooking was simplified, or food might be prepared once a day only. Respite came only when the first born was able to help oversee a younger child, sometimes staying home from school to do so. Where the adult cooperative group was larger, movement was freer. All the strong adults could work in the fields or at a job, confident that the home was well tended. They came home to a well-prepared meal, ready when they wanted it. Such households had more fresh fish because farm work could be completed sooner, hence more persons could devote themselves to fishing. Some physically able members could even be spared and financed to go beyond the required four grades of elementary school.

Plowing could be done by a man and wife, but for both transplanting and harvesting which had to be done within a few days, large groups were necessary. Two patterns of auxiliary group labor prevailed: reciprocal cooperative work, and hiring of labor.

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1. Janlekha, 1955, categorized families as 5% "one-person," 59% nuclear, 8% limited extended (including one or more parents of a spouse), 27% extended (including dependent married couples or other collateral relatives), and the temple residents. At least 32% of the families had inadequate or no land. His figures do not indicate the degree of domestic cooperation which was an ameliorating factor in well-being.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF FAMILY FARE IN BANG CHAN

As we turn to a detailed description of the family fare, we should like to point out that starvation was unknown in Bang Chan. Although much room remains for improvement in diet, "hollow hunger" was uncommon. In the few times when disastrous flood destroyed the year's crop, the government was able to provide enough rice so that it need not be rationed. People still ate their fill. Even floods had their advantage: one could fish out the window. That gross caloric undernutrition was rare was borne out by examination of the school children (Hauck, 1956). "On the average . . . Bang Chan children could not be considered as markedly underweight. Few were so thin that one could 'count their ribs' and still fewer would be considered plump by American standards." In a random sample of village households that included about 10% of the population, the heaviest man weighed 69 kg. (151.8 pounds) and the heaviest woman 70 kg. (154 pounds). We noted no more than half a dozen adults who appeared to be "overweight." Most were middle aged or older, and none of them did strenuous field work.

Sources of Food

Home Production, Storage and Preservation

Rice. - Rice is an essential part of any Thai meal. The majority of the rice farmers in Bang Chan had rice for home consumption milled for them at Minburi. In general, they took their own paddy to the mill, and brought the resulting milled rice home, where it was stored in a box or mat-bin. Although, according to a recent survey (Goldsen and Ralis, 1957) nearly a third of the households owned a home rice mill, undermilled or home-pounded rice was not widely used in Bang Chan. Information on this point was obtained for 333 of 336 "kitchen-unit"[1] households in the village. Of these 5 consumed home-milled rice only, 51 used home-milled rice in major part, 78 in minor part, and 199 not at all.

In households where home-milled rice was used, during June enough would be pounded to last until harvest, at which time hands were sore and bleeding from the field work and home pounding was impossible. At the time when data for the present report were being gathered, most families took paddy to the mill when water in the canal was high enough so that it could be transported by boat. If a farmer on a subsidiary

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1. In some large houses, two related family groups lived together but maintained separate kitchens.

per day were calculated for Groups A and B by Round and for all survey days (24 days for 6 families in Group A, 20 for 5 families in Group B). The total amounts eaten per capita per day, of various food groups, and the relative nutrient contributions of these groups were also calculated.

Results and Discussion

Socio-Economic Situation of the Two Groups of Families Studied

General Socio-Economic Conditions. - In the course of the study the observers were able to obtain information, both by inquiry and direct observation, on the economic condition of the families. Questions about land holdings, the amount of land farmed, number of working buffaloes owned, number of priests to whom food was given and sources of income, were asked during the second Round of the survey, after the participants were acquainted with both the field workers and the procedures. As raw foods were weighed, the observer asked if they were home grown or prepared, and recorded the cost of foods purchased.

Although our sample was not stratified with respect to economic condition, the families in Group B, i.e. those chosen for apparently better nutriture, proved to be more prosperous than those in Group A (Table 8). With the exception of Household 222 in Group A, rice production was the main source of income. Families in Group B had a greater capital investment in land and buffalo, and worked more land, having more productive hands per family available. Farm work was finished sooner, hence members could begin intensive fishing earlier than in Group A. All children aged 13-15, in both groups, did light farm work and/or selling in market, cooking, baby tending and care of buffalo. In all households, husband or wife or both came from old families in the community, hence had extensive kinship relations.

From the viewpoint of parents, the "peak of life" was the time when children were no longer dependent, but productive, unmarried workers whose earnings stayed within the family. Household 16 was such a family, forward looking, progressive and optimistic. The successful and respected couple in Household 25 would enter this "peak of life" situation in a few years. Household 20 included a widower and his almost grown daughter living with his younger brother and the latter's family, and their senile mother, in harmonious cooperation. Ample land, housing, buffalo and farm labor combined with other skills, made for good living. In Household 21, two strong, unmarried sons still lived with their elderly parents. The only poor family, of low status, in Group B, was Household 23. By great industry, especially in

[Text continues on page 63 --- Analyst]

511
.592
62

Table 8. Summary of Economic Conditions of the Two Groups of Households Participating in Dietary Studies

Household Group and Code No.	Members	Land: Rai Worked	Land: Rai Owned	Buffalo[1]	Food Cost[2]: Total	Food Cost[2]: Per Cap.	No. of Priests Fed	Sources of Income
Group A								
222	5	0	0	0	2.96	0.59	0	Labor contractor; hired out as labor; boat repair; fishing; vegetables sold; canal digging.
12	3	12	0	1	2.70	0.90	0	Rice production; occasional work in Bangkok.
215	5	14	0	1	1.59	0.32	0	Rice production; wife, a medium.
67	5	16	6	1-0	2.52	0.50	0	Rice production; eggs sold; road jobs.
2	6[3]	20	0	2	3.97	0.66	3	Rice production; "professional cook".
103	8	47	12	5	2.04	0.26	2[4]	Rice production; eggs, fish, mushrooms sold; buffaloes raised.
Mean		18.2	3.0	1.6	2.37	0.49	0.7	
Group B								
23	8[3]	6	0	1	1.56	0.19	0	Rice production; selling fish and vegetables; masseur.
21	4	25	25	3	1.92	0.48	3	Rice production; headman
16	8	47	47	5	2.70	0.34	2	Rice production; vegetables, fruit sold; road jobs.
25	8	50	50	3	7.97	1.00	2	Rice production; eggs, mushrooms sold.
20	9	66	51	1[1]	2.17	0.27	2	Rice production; ceremonialist; doctor; carpentry; trading; eggs collected and sold.
Mean		33.8	34.7	2.6[1]	3.32	0.45	1.8	

1. The buffalo belonging to Household 67 died during the year. In Household 20, the brother who moved in owned several buffalo, thus the total for Group B was more than the number shown.

2. Average cash expenditure per day, in baht. (One baht equalled about 5 cents) Household 222 received rice as part of wages.

3. Babies born during Round IV were not included. In Household 23, a 12-year old son served as temple boy and was away from home much of the time.

4. Rainy season only, when priests could come by boat; counted as 1 in computing average.

2: Hauck et al. D,E-5 (1952-1954) 1958 AO7 Central Thai AO7 Bang Chan

fishing and selling vegetables, they managed to obtain a fair diet. The father's skill as a masseur was valued especially at periods of heavy farm work, after childbirth, and by the cooks at a ceremonial feast. This brought in from 2 to 12 baht per week.

In Group A, Families 67 and 103 were at the most difficult period of life, with young, dependent children, and housing, land and equipment to be acquired. By great industry, including egg production from a flock of 60 chickens, and by severe "belt-tightening," Household 103 was lifting itself into a propertied position. The parents in Household 67 were shy. One or the other of the two older children often stayed home from school to look after the baby, so that both parents could work. Husband and wife in Household 12 were both very shy, the only ones in the survey group who were at all reluctant to participate. They seemed ashamed of limited food. The wife was frequently ill. In Household 222, the 14-year old daughter often gathered and sold vegetables at Minburi before school in the morning. She might have full charge of the younger children for days at a time. A daughter who worked as a servant in Bangkok contributed 50 baht per month to this household. In Household 215, the activities of the wife as medium were predominant. Pay included food, often cooked, and the free use of 3½ rai of land, as well as cash. Maintenance of a son in school in Bangkok cost about 1000 baht per year plus 60 tang of rice. In Household 2, the elderly wife's services as "boss-buyer and cook" at ceremonials, and as marriage go-between did not bring in cash, but gifts, clothing and much participation in feasts.

All families in the survey group were Thai Buddhists, and 6 of them offered food to priests more or less regularly. On 17 of the 24 survey days when the observer visited these households, food was offered. Two of the 5 families that did not customarily give food to priests, did so on one and two survey days, respectively. In one case food was offered to a son who had been recently ordained. Rice was always included in the food offered, and in 3 of the 20 instances observed rice only was given. The weight of cooked rice given by one family in one day ranged from 185 to 1210 grams, with an average of about 600 grams. In 16 instances, some cooked food such as fish or vegetable curry was given with the rice; in one instance fresh pineapple was given.

Cash Expenditures for Food. - Mean total, and per capita daily cash expenditures for food for survey days, are shown, by household in Table 3. (See Table 2, p. 23 for division of food expenditures for Groups A,B) Although cash expenditures for food varied considerably, the amounts in all cases were small, and approximated figures obtained by Janlekha (1955) for 106 households. Larger consumption of animal products, which were the most expensive items purchased,

000 First steps toward a better diet are suggested by the best dietary practices observed. Although the calculated intake of no family on any survey day approximated or exceeded the estimated allowances for all nutrients, sharp contrasts were evident in individual records. Two sample calculations in Appendix C (pp. 121-122) represent one of the better and one of the poorer records obtained. The food for Household 12, on Jan. 14, 1954 consisted chiefly of polished rice, fish, and non-leafy vegetable, with seasonings. In contrast, on July 23, 1953, Household 16 used home-milled rice, and about 60 gm. per person of swamp cabbage, with other vegetables and fish. These choices enhanced the potential nutritive value of the diet markedly without increasing its cash cost. Family labor was involved, however, in gathering greens and milling rice.

000 Since rice is the chief solid food for all ages, improving this major item will be considered first. An important step would be to teach the people to cook rice with just enough water so that all would be absorbed. The Thai government has sought to encourage this. So long as the practice of cooking rice in excess water persists, much of its vitamin and mineral content will be discarded, and efforts to improve the nutrient content of rice will be largely nullified. Some rice water could be used as a beverage, and for cooking certain vegetables which are commonly served with a thickened sauce. This would be preferable to discarding the rice water, but encouraging its use must be considered as an alternative to cooking rice without excess water, since the two practices are mutually exclusive.

Use of under-milled and processed rice, and of the rice polishings, has the advantage that a large part of the original B-complex content is conserved, whereas vitamins for enrichment are at present imported, and are apt to be for years to come. Since home milling persisted to some extent in Bang Chan, it might be encouraged, in some families. One highly respected headman continued to mill rice at home, hence the "prestige value" of white rice may not be so important in Bang Chan as it is among city Thai, who sometimes regard undermilled rice as "prisoner's food." The time and effort involved in home milling, however, may deter those who have given it up from returning to it; and since deepening the main canal has made the mill accessible to more families the year round, a program based on the assumption that commercial milling of rice will increase is probably more realistic than an attempt to encourage the return to home milling where it has been abandoned.

256 At present, no processed rice is made in Thailand. A plan to buy and install a Malekizing plant to process rice for the Royal Thai Navy was announced in 1953, but the plan has not materialized. Enriched rice has been sold by the Thai Rice Company for some years, but the best grades only,

BANG CHAN

FOREWORD

The Cornell Thailand Project, like other Cornell University studies in community development, is a long term investigation in the field of the processes involved in changing cultural behavior in a non-industrialized society. Field research was begun in 1948 in the central plain of Thailand with base line studies of the rice farming community of Bang Chan and its environs. A collaborating staff of Thai and Americans representing different disciplines has continued to work in Thailand at Bang Chan and elsewhere in a series of phases extending to the present.

The first interim report issued by the Project gives a general account of the economic, political and social organization of Bang Chan in 1948-49 together with some material on health and diet (Sharp et al., 1953). Since the circulation of this first interim report was limited, some of the salient characteristics of Bang Chan should be outlined here.

Bang Chan is located some twenty roadmiles northeast of Bangkok, the rapidly growing major metropolis and capital of Thailand. The village is between two and three miles west of a small district administrative center and market town, Minburi. A century-old canal and to the north of it a post-war hard surface road connect Minburi and Bangkok so that villagers have easy access to these two centers by boat or bus.

In 1954, when data for the present study were still being gathered, the population of Bang Chan was about 1700, divided among about 300 households. Roughly 60 per cent of the households were made up of independent nuclear families consisting of parents and unmarried children. The average size for all families was 5.7 persons. Rice farming was the main occupation of 80 per cent of all families. The population in 1954 worked and lived on about 2800 acres (7000 rai) of land. With the exception of some 120 acres (300 rai) used for the home sites and home gardens scattered along the network of canals in the village, all land was devoted to the cultivation of wet rice. Nutritional density is thus practically the same as population density. Of the rice crop, 60 per cent or more may be sold, the remainder providing seed, feed, and the staple food of the people. During the wet season and into the cooler dry season, from May or June to February, the growing of the single crop of rice is the main activity. The hot dry season from March until the rice planting begins again is a period of fiestas, ceremonies, and visiting.

The Thai countryside is divided into hamlets, each with a headman in charge of the thirty to sixty households of the hamlet. Seven such hamlets constitute the Bang Chan community. (In the Project studies they are identified by the initials BC and KY followed by a number).

12 total of 336 households in Bang Chan (Ralis, 1955).[1] Appropriate portions of schedules used are included in Appendix A.

Women in the random sample of village households, and women whose young children were included in the child feeding study, were asked about survival of all children born to them (See Appendix A, schedule 3, item 36). With the exception of a few old women, those who reported that one or more children had died, were asked to describe the child's symptoms and the circumstances surrounding the death. When the description was clear enough to permit diagnosis, the physician recorded cause of death, as well as the informant's description.

Sanitation

Information concerning toilet practices was obtained from adult members in 30 of the 31 families included in the random sample of households. Additional information on toilet care of infants and toilet behavior of preschool children was recorded in field notes.

In connection with a weighed dietary survey, the observers noted practices relating to care of food, disposal of garbage, and source and treatment of drinking water, in 11 households on 4 days each throughout a year.

Schedules or portions of schedules used in recording the information on sanitation are included in Appendix A.

Results

Physical Measurements

141 145 Heights and Weights. - Mean values and ranges for heights, cristal heights and bicristal diameters, and both mean and median values and ranges for weights of boys and girls in the Bang Chan primary school are classified by age,

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1. In Ralis' survey, each "kitchen-unit" was considered [592] as a household. As generally used in this data paper, "household" includes all persons living under one roof. A number of such households in Bang Chan include more than one kitchen-unit.

[see pp. 51-52--Analyst]

b9

27.a. Excuse me, but at present do you have a (wife/husband) who lives and eats with you, or not? [125] [592]

1. Yes	255
2. Yes, qualified _____	6
3. No	72

b. IF NO: Excuse me, but is this because you are widowed, separated, divorced, or is there some other reason? [589] [586]

4. Widowed	45
5. Separated	9
6. Divorced	1
7. Other, specify	10
— No Answer	7

28.a. Your own children, all of them that have ever been born, how many are there? [592] [162]

8. None	24
9. One	32
X. 2 to 3	70
Y. 4 to 5	74
0. 6 or more	133

b. How many of your children are still living?

0. None	29
1. One	40
2. 2 to 3	83
3. 4 to 5	82
4. 6 or more	97
— No Answer	2

c. How many of your children have died? [165]

0. None	198
1. One	44
2. 2 to 3	56
3. 4 to 5	17
4. 6 or more	9
— No Answer	9

29.a. Have you ever been ordained as a priest, or not? [793] [792]

1. Yes	187
2. No	31
— No Answer	2

[Male Buddhist (220)]

b. IF NO: In the future, do you want to be ordained as a priest, or not?

3. Yes	20
4. No	11

c. ASK ALL: How many sons do you have twenty years old or over? [592] [162]

5. None	176
6. One	56
7. Two	29
8. Three or more	29
— Unascertainable	43

62.a. IF YES: What is the total number of months that you lived in Bangkok? 125 [166]

5. One year or less	31
6. 13 to 24 months	30
7. 25 to 60 months (5 yr)	21
8. More than 5 years	35
9. Unascertainable	

63.a. Is there anyone now eating and living in your house who once lived in Bangkok, or not? [592] [166]

9. Yes	36
X. No	296
Y. Unascertainable	1

b. IF YES: What is your relationship to this person(s)?

1. Son	9
2. Daughter	6
3. Father	2
4. Mother	-
5. Brother	2
6. Sister	13
7. Other relative	14
8. Unascertainable	-

c. IF YES: At what age did he leave BC?

1. Below 15 years	5
2. 15 to 19	8
3. 20 to 29	15
4. 30 years or more	4
5. Unascertainable	4

d. IF YES: How long did he (she, they) live in Bangkok?

6. Less than one year	5
7. 1 to 4 years	19
8. 5 to 9	6
9. 10 years or more	5
X. Unascertainable	1

64.a. Is there anyone who has previously eaten and lived in your house and who is now working in Bangkok, or not?

1. Yes	92
2. No	241
3. Unascertainable	

b. IF YES: What is your relationship to this person(s)?

4. Son	35
5. Daughter	21
6. Brother	16
7. Sister	8
8. Other relative	18
9. Unascertainable	—
— No Answer	8

125 64.e. IF YES: At what age did he leave BC?
[166]
[592]

1.	Below 15 years	8
2.	15 to 19 years	28
3.	20 to 29 years	50
4.	30 years or more	5
5.	Unascertainable	8

d. IF YES: For how long has he (she, they) been gone from BC?

6.	Less than one year	12
7.	1 to 4	42
8.	5 to 9	19
9.	10 years or more	19
X.	Unascertainable	

[464]
[463]
e. IF YES: What various duties or jobs does he (she, they) do in Bangkok?

1.	Housewife	17
2.	Unskilled laborer	19
3.	Skilled laborer	33
	Armed forces	17
	Service	9
	Employee	5
4.	Other (retired, selling things)	2
5.	Unascertainable	4

[166]
[593]
[602]
f. IF YES: During the last year, have you seen this person(s) several times, once, or not at all?

9.	Several times	65
X.	Once	16
Y.	Not at all	8
O.	Unascertainable	3

g. IF YES: Does he (she, they) make regular remittances to this house?

X.	Yes	31
Y.	No	56
O.	Unascertainable	5

[207] 65. Do you listen to the radio regularly, daily, occasionally, seldom, or never?

6.	Regularly-daily	45
7.	Occasionally	66
8.	Seldom	148
9.	Never	60
—	Unascertainable	14

[525] 66.a. Do you play the lottery regularly, occasionally, seldom, or never?

1.	Regularly	20
2.	Occasionally	54
3.	Seldom	220
4.	Never	38
5.	Unascertainable	—
—	No Answer	1

b. IF REGULARLY, OCCASIONALLY, OR SELDOM: Suppose you were to win the second prize of 40,000 baht. What various things would you do with this money?
(See code)

II. DEFINITIONS

Definitions are here provided only for a few basic terms within the context of this survey. An attempt will be made to discuss the many concepts contained in the questionnaire before the beginning of the actual field work, as the desirability to keep this guide short makes it unadvisable to go into lengthy details at the present time.

A household is a single person or a group of persons making one economic unit and distinguished as one kitchen unit. It is likely that members of the same household sleep under one roof (or roofs) belonging to one person, but the main criterion of the definition is the kitchen unit. With each kitchen goes one household. There is occasionally more than one household under one roof; this is found when more than one kitchen is encountered in one dwelling unit.

The head of the household, shortly referred to as HH, is the person whom other members of the household consider to be the head and who lives in this household - we exclude absentee heads of households.

Relationship to the HH is to be designated as whatever applies among the following categories: husband, wife, son, daughter, father, mother, mother-in-law, or "other relative."

Respondent, shortly referred to as R., is the person being interviewed. The R. should preferably be the HH, or, in the absence or nonavailability of the HH, an articulate adult member of the household.

Articulate member of the household is a person in a given household who could be considered eligible to substitute as R. for the HH. An articulate member of the household is another member of the same household as the HH. Such an articulate member should be an adult in the position to express himself without unusual difficulties and he is expected to have a scope of views not much less limited than those of the HH.

III. PROCEDURE

Our survey will be conducted in Bang Chan, shortly referred to as BC. This is a rice village about 20 miles from Bangkok. The Cornell Research Center has been working in this village for many years and friendly relations have been established all over. Senior members of the Cornell Research Center have taken great pain in maintaining good rapport with the villagers and are, naturally, anxious that nothing should occur to damage the established fine relations. Each interviewer is expected to keep this in mind all the time while in BC.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

The Family

592 Although the family is the smallest of social institutions, it occupies first rank in importance. For the purpose of this study family is defined as a group of persons who form a household under one head including parents, children, servants and other dependents. It is a social unit for both consumption and production. In Bangchan, members of the same family, with the possible exception of piece-workers who have the privilege of eating with their employers only during periods of certain kinds of work, usually share the same meal although not necessarily at the same time. Physically able members are expected to contribute to family work although some may also do extra jobs for their own pocket money. In all cases family work has priority over the extra job, and in most cases members turn over all or part of the earning thus realized to the family head. Although most families have separate dwellings, there are instances of two families sharing the same dwelling but having separate cooking arrangement. Such cases are rare, however. According to our operational definition, then, a member of a biological family who has hired himself out as regularly hired laborer ceases to be a member of his own biological family and becomes a member of his employer's family. Piece workers, on the other hand, although they may occasionally eat with their employers, still retain membership of their biological family if they still live with them. Finally, people who live in the same dwelling may not belong to the same family if they

592 do not share the same arrangements for preparing and consuming food.

621 59 [792] The 298 families living in Bangchan on May 23, 1953 may be grouped into five categories: (1) "One-person household" consisting of a lone man or woman /for ease in typological manipulation we arbitrarily consider this as a family, although strictly speaking a one-person household is not a family/; (2) "Nuclear family" consisting of a man and wife and their unmarried children; (3) "Limited extended family" consisting of a man and wife, either or both their sets of parents, and their unmarried children; (4) "Extended family" consisting of those included in "limited extended family" plus married children and children of the latter, plus any collateral relatives of any generation; and (5) "Ecclesiastical family" consisting of Buddhist priests, novices, and temple boys, all males, living together in the temple under the Headpriest's supervision. The distribution of these different types of families so defined is shown in Table 3.

592 596 621 Further explanation is perhaps necessary with respect to the "extended families" in Table 3. It must be pointed out that the term 'extended' is here used for the sole purpose of defining types of families which include dependent married couples as differentiated from the ordinary independent nuclear family. It will be seen in the next section, however, that there is no permanency in this inclusion of married couples whose intention is always to establish an independent family of their own. The so-called 'extended' family in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

592 Bangchan is thus not a counterpart of the Indian or Chinese
596 extended family and should not be conceived as such. Its
621 outlook is definitely that of the nuclear family. Its assumption of an extended family structure does not indicate an intended role of the conventional extended family but does rather demonstrate the inability, temporarily at least, to provide for an establishment of a new family for the newly
[511] wed members. Most of the 80 'extended' families existing in Bangchan at the time of the second census in 1953 cannot be regarded as well to do, and some are extremely poor, being families of the laboring group without any assured regular income.

592 All of the sixteen one-man families were poor, rang-
621 ing from destitute old people who had been deserted by their kin to small farm operators who had to make the most out of their under-sized farms.

592 There were some 53 dependent relatives staying with
602 twenty-five families. These relatives do not include parents
621 of family heads and family heads' direct descendants and
[597] their spouses. They also do not include 'adopted' children of family heads, who automatically become members of the family. Records show that most dependent relatives remained in the family only for a brief period of time. Seven relatives, however, were able during the period from 1949 to 1953 to assume the headship of the families of which they had been dependent members.[7]

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7. See section on change of family heads, Chapter II.

597 621 593 As of 1953 seven adopted children were reported to be living in Bangchan. Since only those mentioned by family heads as their adopted children were so recorded and since some of the information on family members were not given directly by the family heads, it is possible that there might be some more adopted children who appeared in the 1953 census as nephews or nieces. The authenticity of the term 'adopted child' as used in the village is nevertheless rather questionable. There has never been such a practice like legal registration of adopted children in the village, although this is provided by law. Moreover, maltreatment of an adopted child was not unheard of. In 1952 one family head reported that his adopted daughter had "run away" to Bangkok. In 1953 a young widow, an adopted daughter of an operator of a coffee shop in the village, also "ran away". When her whereabouts became known, no effort was made by the foster parents to return to the woman her golden necklace valued at one thousand baht. Later she was forced back home, being beaten all the way in spite of her complaint that she was pregnant. It was also not infrequent that an adopted child left his foster parents and took residence as a dependent relative in another family in the neighborhood. Such incidents points toward the possibility of 'adopted child' being used as a nom de grace for a prospective free family laborer.

162 592 621 Table 4 shows that with the exception of the ecclesiastical family the size of families in Bangchan ranges from one to fourteen, averaging 5.7 persons per family. This

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 66]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY SIZE
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

Family Size	Frequency	Per Cent
One-person family	16	5.4
Two-man family	18	6.0
Three-man family	34	11.4
Four-man family	35	11.7
Five-man family	43	14.4
Six-man family	48	16.1
Seven-man family	38	12.8
Eight-man family	26	8.7
Nine-man family	23	7.7
Ten-man family	10	3.4
Eleven-man family	1	0.3
Twelve-man family	2	0.7
Thirteen-man family	2	0.7
Fourteen-man family	1	0.3
Forty-one-man family*	1	0.3
Total	298	100.0
Mean	5.7	
Median	6	

* Ecclesiastical family.

162 average size of family in 1953 is slightly larger than that
592 calculated from the 1949 census.
621

Disappearance of Some Families from Bangchan

162 When the 1949 and 1953 censuses are paired hamlet by
178 hamlet, appearance of new families and disappearance of some
592 of the old families may be detected. Table 5 shows that
621 during the four years between 1949 and 1953 forty-three families had disappeared from the lists of the seven hamlets constituting Bangchan. This loss was compensated by fifty-three new families, giving a net gain of ten families. In other words, of 288 families existing in 1949, 245 families remained throughout the period. When 53 new families were added to the continuing 245 families, a new total of 298 families was arrived at for 1953. A closer examination, however, will reveal that there were five families which disappeared from one hamlet only to appear in another hamlet of the same Bangchan village. If the seven hamlets are to be considered as one geographical unit, these five families should be deducted from both the disappeared and new families, giving a net disappearance of 38 families and a net appearance of 48 new families, while the number of continuing families becomes 250.

[166] Of 38 families which disappeared from Bangchan, 27 moved out to other villages nearby or afar, while 11 were disintegrated or simply annexed by other families in Bangchan itself.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 68]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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TABLE 5

CHANGES IN NUMBER OF BANGCHAN FAMILIES FROM 1949 TO 1953

Hamlet	Number 1949	Number 1953	Continuing			Disappeared				New			
			Total	(1)	(2)	Total	(1)	(2)	(3)	Total	(1)	(2)	(3)
BC4	43	40	32	32	0	11	6	0	5	8	3	1	4
BC5	27	28	24	18	6	3	2	1	0	4	1	0	3
BC6	44	47	38	36	2	6	4	0	2	9	4	1	4
KY5	54	63	45	40	5	9	6	1	2	18	13	2	3
KY6	28	31	27	26	1	1	0	1	0	4	0	1	3
KY7	43	42	37	33	4	6	5	1	0	5	3	0	2
KY8	49	47	42	36	6	7	4	1	2	5	3	0	2
Total	288	298	245	221	24	43	27	5	11	53	27	5	21

Explanation

Continuing (1) . . same family head
Continuing (2) . . different family head

Disappeared (1). . moved out of the village
Disappeared (2). . moved to other hamlet in the village
Disappeared (3). . disintegrated or annexed by other family

New (1). . . . . moved into the village from other village
New (2). . . . . moved in from other hamlet of the village
New (3). . . . . separated from other family in the village.

592 178 621 Although disintegration and annexation of families have a common feature in that in either case the family loses its entity, they have different connotations as to how the family passes out of existence. In order to have a clear picture of the village economy it is necessary to make a distinction between these two dynamic processes. The best way, perhaps, is to study the eleven families individually.

592 178 621 511 Case 1: A poor laboring family of eleven lived in BC4. The family head was in 1949 an old man of 59, his wife an old woman of 64. The family also included a son, age 29, son's daughters, 16 and 10, son's son, 9, daughter, 35, daughter's son, 18, daughter's daughters, 11, 4 and 1. This was the situation when we were first acquainted with them. When we re-visited the village in 1952, however, we found that only two members remained -- A, the old woman now sick with malnutrition and almost immovable, and B, her granddaughter then age 14 and still in the primary school. Presumably the girl was taking care of her grandmother. Except for the clothes they were wearing and a small old shack which was about to collapse, they did not own anything. B said she worked on a three-fourth-rai parcel and did some fishing or vegetable gathering before and after school time. Actually, she did not get much out of that effort; for the rice crop, 30 tang of paddy or roughly 15 tang of clean rice, was barely enough for a few months' consumption, and fishing would not be productive unless she had several long uninterrupted hours. In tracing what had happened to the rest of

178 592 621

178 the family members we were informed that A's daughter and
592 her four children had moved out of the village separately
621 to different places which could not be traced, while B's brother and sister went to live with a relative in Lam-loogga, also a rice growing village some fifteen miles to the north. The two chief bread winners of the family, A's husband and B's father, managed successfully to get themselves ordained and are now residing in the village temple. Early in 1953 B went to live with her relatives in Lam-loogga, leaving the sick old grandmother alone in Bangchan.
[792] The arrangement was that the old woman was to quit the old
[288] shack and take refuge in the secular part of the temple where it would be possible for her ex-husband, now a priest, to have two meals delivered to her every day. Just before the 1953 census was taken, however, she was taken to Lam-loogga. The last member of the disintegrating family was thus left out of the 1953 census.

178 Case 2: After the death of his first wife, an old
592 man in BC4 gave his two sons equal shares of his property.
587 He then acquired a second wife and built a separate quarter,
736 apart from the main building, thus creating a new family of
621 two. In 1952 he was fatally hit by a truck on the Minburi road. After a few months of unhappy stay with one of her step sons, the widow acquired a new husband and moved out to a neighboring village.

178 Case 3: There was in BC4 a laboring family of three
592 consisting of an old man, his daughter, and her son. After
621
[166]

178 the death of her father, it was reported that the woman
• 592 and her son moved to Bangplee, another rice growing village
621 some fifteen miles to the south. After checking with some
[166] of the former Bangchan residents who are now living in that village, the first report was found to be inaccurate. In fact no one in Bangchan seemed to know where they were. The only hint available to us concerning the mother and son was "Family disintegrated. Mother went one direction, son another direction."

Case 4: A woman and her adopted son were operating
[702] a 22-rai rice farm in BC6. After the death of the mother, the man remained in the village alone for a short time and then was conscripted into the army.

Case 5: After the death of the head of a laboring family in BC6, the wife and their four grownup children left the village separately. In the eyes of villagers this was
[164] another case of "family disintegration." The wife's birth place was in KY8, but she could not go back to her old family because there was not enough land to work.

Case 6: An old woman, age 76, was reported in the
[787] 1949 census to be living alone in KY5. Later she moved
[792] into the secular compartment of the temple (she was an aunt of the headpriest) where she died before the 1953 census was made.

Case 7: A man, age 50, was living in KY8 with his older sister, age 60, and their nephew's son, age 6. When the man died, the older sister pursued her brother's farm

178 laboring profession, limiting the work to transplanting only.
• 592 Apparently she did not earn enough. During this hard period
621 the young boy left her. The woman continued to live alone for two years. After the collapse of her shack in 1953 she went to live with a young couple in KY5 who are not related to her. In exchange for room and board and a nominal allowance, the old woman agreed to take care of the couple's baby.

178 Case 8: In 1949, a couple, both teachers in the Bang-
592 chan Primary School, were sharing the same dwelling with the
845 wife's mother's family, but having a separate food arrange-
434 ment for themselves and their two young daughters. Thus,
621 they appeared in the 1949 census as a separate family. In local standard, the combined income of these two teachers
[416] was quite high. The family lived well and was the only family in Bangchan that owned a camera. In the 1953 census this family became a part of the wife's mother's family because they had arranged to share the same food. The reason that was given for this new arrangement was that some time earlier the wife's brother, who had been living with his mother, got married and moved out to start an independent family, whereupon the old lady suggested that her daughter move in to fill the vacancy.

178 Case 9: In 1949, a family of three, consisting of
592 a young couple and their six years old daughter, worked as
621 farm hands for the wife's mother for fixed pay on which they
[593] were able to live independently. Two or three years later, the wife's mother asked this family to move into her household

178 because four members of her family had just left her to
592 establish families of their own. The son-in-law accepted
621 this invitation and had since taken over the management of
[593] his mother-in-law's large 60-rai rice farm.

Case 10: In 1949, an old woman was living with two boys, one distantly related to her, the other without any
[427] blood relationship. She was operating a small rented rice
[792] farm. Some time in the past she had made a generous offer
[431] of her own house to the temple which was not acted upon by the receiving party. In 1953, the headpriest contemplated an expansion of one of the temple buildings and approached the woman for the gift. The woman complied with the request, had her house dismantled, saving only the kitchen, and sent all the building materials to the temple. Meanwhile, the two boys had left her; one went to live with his mother in
[593] the village, the other went to Bangkok. Later, the woman
[437] joined the household of her younger brother, who lived next door, with the understanding that the brother had free use of her buffalo in exchange for her room and board.

Case 11: In 1949, a woman was living in KY8 with her aged mother and her baby born of her separated husband
[586] who was a policeman. Two years later, the woman married a
[587] widower, who lived in the same hamlet, and brought along her mother and son to live with her new husband.

With the exception of Case 6, a lone aged woman who was survived by none after her death, these cases may be grouped according to the nature of acceptance of the families

178 to which surviving elements of the disappearing families
• 592 were subsequently attached. It was noticed that in the
621 last four cases -- Cases 8, 9, 10, and 11 -- merging with new families was arranged on the basis of mutual convenience, and the disappearing families moved en masse into the new ones (with the exception of Case 10 -- a lone woman when arrangement for merging was being made). It may even be said that the initiative came from the receiving families, although the new members may have been more anxious for the union. In the remaining six cases -- Cases 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7 -- there was no element of mutual convenience, and the surviving elements of the disappearing families did not move into new families as a body but as an individual. It seemed in these latter cases that the force of circumstances -- death or extreme poverty -- had prompted either party, usually the disintegrating elements, to seek the union as a quick way out. Because of the purposive nature of the arrangement in the former cases, the process may be called 'annexation'; while for want of a proper term, the process seen among the latter cases will be called 'disintegration'.

[162] None of the eleven cases undergoing disintegration
[423] or annexation owned landed property. Table 6 shows that
[464] six of these were farm laboring families. The five others were distributed among the following occupational groups: farm operator, public servant, and no occupation.

[166] Among the 27 families that moved out of Bangchan, eleven families were known to be living in the bordering

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TABLE 6

DISINTEGRATION AND ANNEXATION OF FAMILIES
Bangchan, Thailand, 1949-53

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Case	Occupation	Landed Property	Immediate Cause	Number of Surviving Elements	Number of Attached Families
Disintegration:					
1.	F. laborer	no	poverty	11	4
2.	Public servant	no	death	1	1
3.	F. laborer	no	death	2	2
4.	F. operator	no	death	1	1
5.	F. laborer	no	death	5	3
6.	no occupation	no	death	0	0
7.	F. laborer	no	death	2	2
Annexation:					
8.	Public servant	no	convenience	4	1
9.	F. laborer	no	convenience	3	1
10.	F. operator	no	convenience	1	1
11.	F. laborer	no	marriage	3	1

178 villages, and six in villages within a distance of from four
592 to fifteen miles from Bangchan. These seventeen families,
621 whose locations were known, were engaged at the time of the
166 study in the same occupations they had been when they were in Bangchan -- either farm operating or farm laboring. Our investigation, however, covered only the whole family as a unit -- that is, we cannot say that every single individual constituting these seventeen families when they moved out of
(464) Bangchan was doing farm work in his new location. Only one case was known in which the family head got a permanent job as a janitor in Wat Makasan Primary School in Bangkok. This man was nevertheless commuting regularly between his farm home in Bangplee and his office in the suburb of Bangkok. His taking up a new job was thus a question of an individual member, not of the family as a whole.

It is not likely that the ten families whose locations were not known to us would take up new occupations in Bangkok. If they did work in Bangkok, they should pay some visits to Bangchan at least during festival time or family re-union occasioned by ordination or cremation, and their presence in the village would certainly be known to us. Besides, we were in constant contact with the core of a group of young men who went to work in Bangkok and who knew one another's whereabouts fairly well, and no information about these ten families was available from this source either. Our impression was that they were doing farm work in some villages not too close to Bangchan.

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Bangchan

Appearance of New Families in Bangchan

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In the pairing of the 1949 and 1953 censuses against each other the appearance of new families was detected as was the disappearance of some of the old families which has just been discussed. Table 5 shows that there were 53 new families, but five of these were merely cases of reappearance of existing families from other hamlets of the same village. Actually, therefore, there were only 48 families that were really new in Bangchan.

Of these 48 new families, 27 moved into the village from the outside and 21 evolved from existing families in Bangchan. Of the 27 immigrating families, 18 came from the bordering villages and 9 from distant villages in all directions ranging from Lardprao and Samsen, some ten miles to the southwest, to Prachin, over a hundred miles to the east. [463] While the eighteen families from the bordering were accustomed, as expected, to rice growing, not all of the nine families from distant villages had been farmers. A family head of one of these nine families came from a family of fruit growers, while another family head, who apparently had a more spectacular record, had been engaged in international rice trading. This latter man, who knew some English, had worked in a large rice mill in Nonburi which was exporting rice under strict government control after the war. Discovery by the government agent of irregularities of the firm led to the man's flight abroad to Hongkong or Swatow some eight years ago. It is assumed with his

178 appearance in the village that the case has been closed.
592 One reason he chose to take up residence in Bangchan after
621 business failure in Bangkok was that his wife owned through
166 inheritance a 17-rai parcel of rice land in the village. Another equally important reason was the relatively low cost of living in the village as compared to the city, which could not be overlooked especially when he had a large family of ten.

162 Of the 21 families evolving or separating from
178 existing families in Bangchan during the period from 1949
592 to 1953, sixteen were young married couples seeking inde-
591 pendent families of their own. Eight of these were married
621 before 1949, and the rest after that year. These sixteen young couples altogether contributed, in the 1953 census, 21 children of age-group 0-4 years or about ten percent of all children of that age-group in the whole village.

This process of separation of young married couples from the old families is normal, in fact a characteristic feature, in areas where the nuclear family system predominates. Although some newly wed couples were able to establish independent families immediately, the pattern was that they remained for a year or more with family of either side, during which time they accumulated capital necessary for future establishment. A separate section will be devoted to this important feature of the village economy.

178 In contrast to the above normal separation from old
592 families, the remaining five of the 21 families underwent
621

178 different types of separation which will be described indi-
• 532 vidually as follows:
621

Case 1: This involved the two sons who inherited landed property from his father described in Case 2 for the disintegration of the family, and in fact this was the first Bangchan family we met in 1948. At that time the elder brother, then age 37, was a widower and was courting a woman in another village along the Minburi Road. His work in road construction and maintenance (the Minburi Road) gave him a good excuse for continued absence from home, leaving his two daughters and three sons under the care of his younger
[587] brother who was the family head. Just before the 1949 census
[464] was made, he married the woman and once again became settled down. Meanwhile the younger brother got a job in road construction. With regular monthly cash income, he took to drinking and established himself as one among the few notorious dipsomaniacs in the village. This was intolerable to the elder brother who finally moved his nuclear family out to their new home just across the road.

Case 2: In 1949, an unmarried woman was living in an 'extended' family headed by a son of her elder sister. The combined landed property of the family was 67 rai of rice land, 40 rai of which was a share of the woman and her aged mother who was also living in the family. Some time before the 1953 census was made the woman and her mother moved out to form a separate household. The reason for the separation was not quite clear. It was assumed, however,

178 that these two women were happier living by themselves than
• 592 with their junior relatives.
621

Case 3: A married couple were living in 1949 with
[586] the wife's parents. They were later separated, the husband leaving his former wife with her parents. In the 1953 census the man appeared in KY7 list as head of a one-person household.

Case 4: In 1949, a woman appeared in the census as wife of a family head in KY6. In that same year she left him and lived as wife with another man in KY8. A few years after, she left this second man again. She then appeared in the 1953 census as family head of a family of six including her three children and her aged parents.

Case 5: In 1949, a man of 47 was head of a laboring family of nine in KY, including his wife, three adult off-
[464 spring and four young children. Later in that year he left
586] the family and hired himself out as a regular laborer to a farm operator with whom he worked for two years. He then left the village for a year after which he returned to work as regular hired laborer for another operator for almost a year and a half. In the 1953 census he appeared as head of a one-person household in KY6. Our records show that he was a diligent worker, excellent fisherman, averse to sweet cookies, but very fond of liquor. When asked why he did not go back to his family in KY8, he replied "The larger the family you have, the more trouble you get. I have more fun living alone."

178 These five cases may be grouped as follows: two
592 cases of relatives of family heads separating from 'extended'
621 families, two cases of one spouse leaving the other, and one case of a family head deserting his wife and children.

Pattern of Establishment of New Families

593 Bangchan offspring customarily continued to live with
592 their parents as long as they were not married regardless of how old they might be. In the eyes of the parents, an offspring is always their child, immature and needing parental supervision, as long as he has not been able to acquire a spouse; and until then the parents-offspring mutual obligations, necessitating living together, must continue to exist. Thus, it was not uncommon to see several unmarried adults crowding in one family providing too large a labor force relative to a small parcel of land on which the family
[58] worked. In this context, marriage serves an important economic function of giving impetus to the start of new producing units in the village. There is no corresponding service in areas where the extended family system predominates such as in China and India.

583 Two distinct kinds of marriage were conceived of in Bangchan: the conventional marriage with the sanction of parents or guardians of both parties which was usually preceded by formal arrangement and accompanied by marriage rites sponsored by the bride's family; and the popular marriage by mutual understanding between the man and wife without

591 proportion for immediate establishment was 20 out of 54 or
184 37 per cent for those married before 1932, and 10 out of
178 37 or only 27 per cent for those married after 1932. A declining trend was thus observed of the ability to establish a new family immediately after marriage.

591 Table 7 also shows that the 'nascent' period of 50
592 families (that had ones) ranged from one to twenty years,
184 averaging four years, the mode being one year, and the median
178 two years. Among the fifteen non-separating families, eight headships were taken over by offspring while one or both of the parents were still alive (we shall call this 'type A'), four headships were taken over by offspring through the death of parents (we shall call this 'type B'), and three headships were taken over by spouses ('type C'). The last mentioned changing over of family headship (type C) occurred in three ways: through marriage of a man to a female head of a family whereby the husband automatically became the family head, death of the husband, and desertion of the husband.

591 The changing over of the family headship of the type
592 B in Table 7 was a natural process of inheritance. In type
184 A, it was found that senility accounted for seven out of
428 eight cases of the changing over, the one exception being
587 the case of a widower who wanted to have a second wife and who thought that the family assets originally belonged to his first wife's biological family and therefore an outside woman should not lay a hand on the 300,000 baht property.

591 A factor that should also be taken into account was that he
592 had a regular income of 450 baht a month from his job in the
434 Highways Department, which by the village standard was more than enough for him to live comfortably with his second wife.

591 Historical records of the 96 farm operating families do not contain information as to how the 50 families passing through nascent period were divided into those staying with wives' families and those staying with husbands' families. The 1953 census, however, reveals that of 48 married couples then living in 42 families of parents of either side (four such families included two couples and one family three couples), 23 were with husbands' parents and 25 with wives' parents. The proportion may thus be estimated at about one to one.

59 During the nascent period, the couple ordinarily
434 received from the parents they were staying with a kind of
[431] annual bonus locally called lampai which varied according to the economic status as well as generosity of the parents. Lampai took several different forms. Thus, a couple might receive all the paddy harvested from a specified area of the field of three, five, or ten rai; they might be given a fixed quantity of the crop -- say 50 or 100 tang; they might receive cash -- say 500 baht or any other varying amount. In some cases, the couple were expected to earn their lampai outside the family farm after obligation to family work had been fulfilled. This took the form of piece-working or trivial trade.

59 If no lampai was given, the parents might give some gold in
[431]

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[957]

Family workers are members of farm operating families other than the farm operators themselves who regularly participate in the farm work of the families. These do not include children of school age who occasionally help in the farm work especially during the busiest period.

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Hired laborers are farm laborers who are hired for all or part of the work season for more or less fixed wages in kind or in cash. These hired laborers have in addition to their yearly wage a privilege to board and lodge freely at their employers' home, and thus become part of their employers' household. The contract, usually verbal, is on a one year basis.

#243
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Piece-workers are farm laborers who receive wages on a piece-work basis for such short-term tasks as uprooting the seedlings, transplanting, and harvesting. Payment for piece-work is made at the end of the day at going rates. It has been observed that most of the extra work in Bangchan is done by piece-workers, and that very few farms engage hired laborers. Piece-workers may be called independent workers, for they have no obligation other than finishing the day's task agreed upon. They may work whenever they please and may stop working altogether if they have enough money. The disadvantage of piece-workers is that they do not have, as hired laborers do, the guarantee of a job. This is quite crucial especially if under-employment of farm labor exists.

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125 it would deny any benefit that would arise out of continuous observation of each farm and farm operator through a series of years. With a view to retaining this benefit of continuity, we decided to adopt the first method -- that,is, we included in the sample the ten new families branching out from the original sample-families. Thus, in our subsequent study in 1952 the size of our sample became 106 farm operating families.

There were, however, some types of data which involved records in the past four or five years, such as harvested crop during 1948-52, accumulation of wealth, major receipts and expenses during the same period. In these cases we naturally used the continuing sample of 96 families.

*243 Composition of Farm Operating Families

162 Table 31 shows that the size of the farm operating
• 592 family decreased from 6.3 in 1948 to 5.7 in 1952. It also shows that, while the number of adults remained more or less constant, the decrease in the size of the family was due almost entirely to the decrease in the number of the young from 2.5 in 1948 to 2.0 in 1952.

*243 A possible explanation for this lies in the economic
162 consequence of the war. Strict government control of the
592 price of rice and of the internal movement of paddy during
182 the war and also in the immediate postwar period has so
178 adversely affected the economic condition of rice farmers
[582] that marriage has often been postponed. In cases where

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 182]

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TABLE 31

COMPOSITION OF FARM OPERATING FAMILIES
Bangchan, Thailand, 1948 and 1953

Year	Number of Families	People Included			Average Family Composition		
		Young*	Adult**	Total	Young*	Adult**	Total
1948	104	256	398	654	2.5	3.8	6.3
1952	106	215	391	606	2.0	3.7	5.7

* Age 14 years and under.

** Age over 14 years.

243 marriage did take place, the couple were usually obliged
162 to stay with the parents of either the husband or the wife.
178 It is reasonable to believe that the nascent period was
592 prolonged during this period of hard times. Thus, the
182 family size tended to be larger than it normally is. This
[582] is especially true for rice farming families where there always is some work for members able to work. It is not surprising, then, that the average size of farm operating families in Bangchan was 6.3 in 1948 while the average size of all families was 5.7 according to the 1949 census. A steady rise in the price of paddy after the war has improved the economic condition of rice farmers. The increased income, however, had to be spent first on replacement of equipment and housing facilities which had been long overdue.
[792] Finally, the bumper crop of 1948 with an ever-increasing price put an end to farm misery, and the following dry season saw a record number of newly ordained priests and
[591] merit making activities. From then on proportionately more marriages took place and there were fewer economic obstacles to keep newly wed couples from starting out independently. The combined effect of termination of prolonged nascent period and freer establishment of new families was that the size of the farm operating family was considerably reduced.

16 It may seem strange that more marriages should bring about a drop in the number of the young from 2.5 per family in 1948 to 2.0 in 1952. By the young is meant, however,

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16 all children up to the age of 14 years. So it is only a fraction of these children, probably those in the age group of 0-3 years, that was contributed by marriages after 1948. While it is true that this contribution was quite considerable, since the proportion of children in the age group of 0-4 years rose from 10 per cent of total population in 1949 to 13 per cent in 1953, yet it was not enough to offset the effect of the decline in birth rate resulting from the war. Another factor to be considered is that children born during 1935-38, who were included as the young in the 1949 census, became adults in the 1953 census. Since these children were born before the war which did not affect their proportionate percentage in the total population, their removal from the young category in 1953 was not compensated by the entry into that category of children born during 1950-53. Finally, it was observed that among people who emigrated during 1949-53 small nuclear families consisting of young husband and wife and two or three children in the age group of 0-14 years predominated. Since the proportion of the young in these families, which had existed in Bangchan independently or more likely as a part of the extended families, is larger than the village figure, emigration must also be considered a factor responsible for the decline in the proportion of the young from 2.5 per family in 1948 to 2.0 in 1952.

*243 • 592 178 *128 It was found in the preliminary survey in 1948 that of 398 adults in the 104 sample-families 319 or 80 per cent were working members of the family. Unfortunately, we did

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not obtain comparable figure for our 106 sample-families in 1952. The question is whether or not we might assume that 80 per cent of the adult members of the 106 sample-families in 1952 were working members. It should be understood that working members of the family were those who participated in the family farm work, but they did not have to be fully employed. If the family farm is rather small, say only 10 rai, and there are as many as four able members of the family, naturally the four members will take turns in the farm work although the whole job can be easily done by two family workers or even one. In this case, we still consider that there are four working members of that family, for it is inconceivable that two able members of the family without help from the other two, would do all the farm work for the whole season.

What about the other 20 per cent of adult members? It was observed in 1948 that these adult members of farm operating families did not participate in the family farm work because they were too old to work, they were nursing mothers, sick (including pregnant), still incompetent in farm work (especially young people at the age of 15-16 years), or they were tied up with other jobs. All these factors except the last one may be considered natural factors which occur in a somewhat constant proportion regardless of ti[illegible] It would seem, then, that we might reasonably assume that 80 per cent of adult members of our sample-families in 1952, or 313 out of the total of 391 persons, were working members.

243 except for the question of some of these adults being tied
178 up with other jobs. Nevertheless, when limited job oppor-
592 tunity was considered, it was unlikely that this last
128 factor would appreciably affect the estimate. It was assumed, therefore, that 313 out of the total of 391 adults in our 106 sample-families, or an average of 3.0 persons per family, were working members in 1952.

[162] Table 32 shows that the size of farm operating families in 1952 ranged from one to thirteen, averaging 5.7, the median being 6. Eighty-six of these 106 families, or 81 per cent, had a size between three and eight.

Training for Farm Work

243 Every adult in the village of both sexes is expected
462 to be able to do farm work. This includes the ability to perform the following jobs.

Minimum standard: Every step of rice production except uprooting of rice seedlings which is performed only by adult males (for various steps of rice production, see the chapter on farm technology); digging and mounding; paddling and rowing; hauling except a heavy load like gas engines; tending the buffaloes and livestock; gardening; pounding of cargo rice for consumption during the work season; fishing by line-and-hook, dipping net, and trap; food preparation.

In addition to the minimum standard listed above for both male and female adults, male adults are expected to be able to perform the following jobs: Uprooting of rice

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TABLE 32

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY SIZE 106 FARM OPERATING FAMILIES
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

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Family Size	Number of Families
1	2
2	4
3	15
4	16
5	17
6	12
7	14
8	12
9	8
10	4
11	1
12	0
13	1
Total	106
Mean size	5.7
Median size	6.0

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465 two laborers -- 1,000 baht for Laborer 7 and 900 baht for Laborer 30, averaging 950 baht for the year. In 1950, earnings of 500, 850, and 1,000 baht were reported respectively by Laborers 18, 19, and 29, averaging 783 baht for the year. In 1951, only one case of 600 baht earning was reported by Laborer 5. In 1952, earnings of 600, 1,000, 1,000, 1,000, and 350 baht were reported respectively by Laborers 5, 14, 29, 30, and 32, averaging 790 baht for the year. In 1953, earnings of 2,000, 600, 1,000, and 300 baht were reported respectively by Laborers 4, 5, 14, and 15, averaging 975 baht for the year.[4]

• 592
464 In the preceding paragraph, the term "transient family worker" was introduced. This refers to a person distantly or not at all related to the family in question who has been accepted as a family member with a dual status of half relative and half laborer. Since there is actually no genuine family tie, such member has been observed to come in and go out of the family rather freely as the occasion [465] may arise, and hence the term "transient". While staying with the family, the transient member is expected to participate in the family work that is appropriate to him in exchange for good, shelter, clothing, and occasional monetary gifts.

In 1948, we came across a case where an old man of 80 was living with one of the seven headmen of Bangchan as

4. Table 53 gives an idea of the meaning in real terms of these incomes.

592 a transient member of the family. This was rather unusual,
464 however. The pattern was that a transient member was
[561] accepted when he is rather young. If he was quite mature,
he might also be accepted; but the expressed motive of the
592 accepting family would then be somewhat different. When
465 approached by a mature prospective transient member, the
464 family head would most probably say that he could not afford to keep a hired laborer but he would be glad to let the man or woman stay with him as a member of the family, and that they might as well "share in the food, and share in the work".

It has been observed that transient family workers received much less from the family than the standard wage
[435] of hired laborers. While the latter received an annual wage of 1,000 baht or the crop from 5 rai, the former might be given only 50 or 100 baht a year. To farm operators of moderate or large rice farms, transient family workers were certainly an economic advantage. It was quite natural that these operators would try to keep them in the family as long as possible. Among the several methods observed were the following: (1) adoption; (2) promise to sponsor ordination of the young male transient member; and (3) giving a certain amount of lampai.

592 It was mentioned in the section on the family in
464 Chapter II that adoption as practiced in Bangchan did not
[597] involve legal registration of the adopted child, and that
[792] maltreatment of adopted children was not infrequent. To sponsor an ordination was in fact not quite as expensive

592 as it might seem to be, for there was a wide range of
464 ordination expenses and the family head naturally tended
792 to arrange one that was not so expensive unless it was for his own son. He might even arrange a joint ordination of
592 which the cost was much reduced. Moreover, most of the cost
464 of the ordination would be covered by the customary contributions made by neighbors. The lampai arrangement, which was nothing but a sophisticated term for wage, was a real concession on the part of the family head, indicating that he really wanted to keep the transient member in the family even at a certain cash expense.

464 The presence of transient family workers and their
592 relatively low remunerations indicated a condition of popu-
466 lation pressure onland. Already, these people had adversely
[167] affected the laboring sector of the village economy because they represented an additional supply of cheap labor. Although they had contributed to a low cost of producing paddy and thus benefited the operators, with the rise of the price of foods which farmers had to buy and with the decline of free food (in the forms of fish and aquatic plants) transient family members may in time become a liability rather than an asset to the family. To be sure, when such a time has arrived, the family would be reluctant to admit a transient member. The trouble, however, is that the cost of maintaining an extra family member is implicit and not readily distinguished by the family. It would thus take some time before the real situation would be recognized.

182 464 • 592 Nevertheless, the advantages of transient member arrangements to both parties should not be overlooked. It has at least provided the poor with a kind of economic security, since they might arrange to join some families in the village in time of crises. This is perhaps the principal reason why the village, not the living quarter, is considered by most Bangchan people to be their home. By sending some offspring to live with a more affluent family, the poor villagers had been able to reduce the size of their families and thus had managed to prevent their level of living from falling far below the minimum level of subsistence. As for the accepting families, it has already been shown that they had enjoyed the benefit of cheap labor provided by transient family workers.

*243 178 463 621 [592] Changes in Farming Population in Bangchan

Table 11 shows that the number of farm operators in Bangchan had decreased from 229 in 1949 to 216 in 1953, while the number of the family heads whose main incomes were derived from farm labor had increased from 27 to 38 within the same period.

When the farm operating families were studied individually, it was found that 181 families had been operating their rice farms in Bangchan throughout the period. There were 48 farm operators whose names disappeared from the list of operators in 1953. These were compensated by 35 new operators. Thus, there was a net loss of 13 farm operating families during the period from 1949 to 1953.

*243 would detach themselves from the ground and be seen afloat on the surface water. To remedy this, the farmer usually inspected his newly transplanted parcel and simply pressed the floating seedlings back into the ground. Sometimes, transplanting was poorly done or the seedlings were roughly handled during uprooting, resulting in "dead stands." These dead stands could not be distinguished from the live ones in the first few days after transplanting, for both would appear greenish yellow in color. In four days after transplanting, however, the root system of the live rice plant resumed its normal function and most stands assumed their true green color. The dead stands could then be easily detected for they remained greenish yellow. These dead stands were removed and new seedlings were transplanted in their places.

Weeding was another care given to the rice plants. Again, it was difficult to apportion the time spent on each of these separate activities -- pressing the floating seedlings back into their original position on the ground, replacement of the dead stand stands with the live seedlings, and weeding -- for at certain periods (within a few days after transplanting) they were all done in the same trip and almost concurrently.

[476] Weeding was also done cooperatively, although recently cooperative weeding has become less popular and involved only [592] few families. It may be said, therefore, that care of the [178] plants as of 1953-54 was largely a family undertaking. Our records show that care of the plants in our sense of the term [476] started on July 24 and ended on September 29. Of this, the [592]

*243 work done by the family members themselves lasted from July
[476 24 to September 28 and the work done through cooperative work
• [592 group (weeding only) lasted from September 20 to September 29. It was observed that as from the end of September there was no need for weeding, for weeds could not keep up with the rising water level.

14. Preparation of threshing floor. When harvesting was approaching, the farmer would get busy preparing the threshing floor. He had to do this well ahead of time, that is, before harvesting actually started, or else there would be complications during that busy period. As a matter of fact, this was a rather short step of rice production. Although our records show that it lasted from November 29 to January 27, that seemingly long period was due to the fact that cracking appeared and repair of the threshing floor was necessary on the latter date. In fact, the whole work took only seven work days, involving only 13½ man-hours and 32 buffalo-hours. The method of preparing the threshing floor was simple. The ground space designated to be the floor was first soaked with water for the whole night. In the following morning, four buffaloes were led to tramp over and over this small earth floor for an hour and a half, in the meantime another worker levelled the floor with grub hoe. The process was repeated on each of the four following days until the floor became compact and level.
*243 Finally the surface was pasted with wet buffalo manure to mini-
476 mize surface cracking.

15. Harvesting. This was largely done through a

243 461 128 Since the farm work usually followed the same pattern for a certain period, it was observed that Phan remembered quite well the time and the kind of work done by each family worker during the past two or even three days. The time of work was recorded [231] to the hearest half-hour. In Tables 35 and 35, labor spent by [464] family workers, piece-workers hired by the family, and buf- [592] faloes, on different steps in rice production was given in man-hours and buffalo-hours. The dates when these various [476] jobs started and ended were also given. It should be noted, however, that labor recorded as spent on cooperative work was actually not spent on the family farm but rather on farms of other cooperative members. This was nevertheless exactly compensated by cooperative work on this farm on several occasions which were not entered in the calculation to avoid error because of duplication.

243 461 The data from Tables 35 and 36 may be summarized as follow:

221 1. Man labor provided by farm staff.

[592] [464] [231]

Work started June 4, ended February 14, a total of 248 work days.
Total man-hours spent by farm staff -- 5,478½.

2. Man labor provided by piece-workers.

Work started July 19, ended August 30, a total of 10 work days.
Total man-hours spent by piece-workers -- 229.

3. Animal labor provided by buffaloes.

Work started June 4, ended February 13, a total of 112 work days.
Total buffalo-hours -- 2,119.

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TABLE 35

SUMMARY OF YEAR ROUND WORK BY CHOM FARM STAFFS
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

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[592]

Steps*	Duration Start	Duration End	Days in work	Man-hrs.
A. Work by Farm Staff				
1. Plowing	June 4	Aug 23	49	918½
2. Harrowing	June 13	Aug 24	28	291
3. Remove weeds after harrow	June 13	Aug 15	25	219½
4. Irrigate and drain	June 4	July 8	21	186½
5. Rolling	June 13	Aug 22	7	42
6. Sow, broadcast	June 18	July 15	13	42½
7. Prepare and repair	July 5	Dec 9	10	106½
8. Prepare bamboo binders	July 17	Aug 27	10	45½
9a. Coop uprooting	July 15	Sept 11	25	127½
9b. Family uprooting	July 17	Sept 8	20	115½
10a. Coop transplanting	July 18	Sept 19	36	267½
10b. Family transplanting	Aug 20	Sept 10	13	125
11. Hauling	July 17	Sept 14	55	733
12. Field inspection	Aug 25	Nov 30	42	87
13a. Care of the plants	July 24	Sept 28	14	114½
13b. Coop weeding	Sept 20	Sept 29	8	86
14. Prepare thresh floor	Nov 29	Jan 27	7	13½
15a. Coop harvesting	Dec 4	Jan 25	44	747½
15b. Family harvesting	Dec 12	Feb 6	18	148½
16. Threshing	Dec 15	Feb 14	43	597
17. Winnowing	Dec 25	Feb 14	9	86½
18. Stacking of straw	Dec 29	Feb 4	2	16
19. Procure grass for buf.	June 14	Nov 27	83	157
20. Supervise coop work	July 22	Jan 24	8	26
21. Entertaining guest workers	July 22	Jan 24	7	158½
Total	June 4	Feb 14	248	5,478½
B. Work by Piece-workers				
1. Coop uprooting	Aug 18	Aug 25	6	24
2. Uprooting	Aug 23	Aug 30	.2	45
3. Transplanting	July 19	Aug 2	5	160
Total	July 19	Aug 30	10	229
Grand total	June 4	Feb 14	248	5,707½

[464]

* See details in the section on steps in rice production.

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TABLE 37

DAILY LABOR SPENT BY CHOM FARM STAFFS
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

243
221
231
461
476
592

Date		Animal labor	Human labor		
			On farm	On coop. work	Total
		buf-hr	man-hr	man-hr	man-hr
Jun	4	8	24	--	24
	5	16	28	--	28
	6	16	28	--	28
	7	16	28	--	28
	8	16	28	--	28
	9	16	28	--	28
	10	8	12	--	12
	11	--	16	--	16
	12	16	18	--	18
	13	16	15½	--	15½
	14	16	27½	--	27½
	15	13½	29	--	29
	16	22	19½	--	19½
	17	22	16½	--	16½
	18	20	26½	--	26½
	19	--	14½	--	14½
	20	24	25	--	25
	21	24	24	--	24
	22	23	33	--	33
	23	24	24	--	24
	24	21½	25½	--	25½
	25	18	14	--	14
	26	--	18½	--	18½
	27	25	25	--	25
	28	24	25	--	25
	29	22	34½	--	34½
	30	28	32	--	32
July	1	22	43	--	43
	2	30	38	--	38
	3	27½	30	--	30
	4	--	23	--	23
	5	28	38	--	38
	6	30½	32½	--	32½
	7	18	21	--	21
	8	32	35	--	35
	9	28	28	--	28
	10	28	3-½	--	30½

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TABLE 37 (Cont.)

DAILY LABOR SPENT BY CHOM FARM STAFFS

*243
221
231
461
476
• 592

Date	Animal labor	Human labor		
		On farm	On coop. work	Total
	buf-hr	man-hr	man-hr	man-hr
July 11	--	23½	--	23½
12	24	20	--	20
13	24	26½	--	26½
14	28	31	--	31
15	24	38	5½	43½
16	28	27½	--	27½
17	28	36	--	36
18	22	30	5	35
19	--	36	--	36
20	30	37½	--	37½
21	28	37	4½	41½
22	19	46½	5	51½
23	8	20½	4½	25
24	9	31	--	31
25	10	16	--	16
26	--	4	4	8
27	--	17	4½	21½
28	25½	27½	12	39½
29	26	28½	9½	38
30	28	21	13½	34½
31	30	35	--	35
Aug 1	16	18	6	24
2	20	21½	7	28½
3	--	7½	8½	16
4	5	17	9½	26½
5	22½	24½	16	40½
6	29½	29½	10½	40
7	24	30½	6½	37
8	25½	25½	7½	33
9	38	26	10½	36½
10	--	8	19½	27½
11	28	16	13	29
12	34	19	16½	35½
13	34	25½	12	37½
14	29	19	7½	26½
15	32	81½	4	85½
16	11	67½	4	71½
17	12½	35	5½	39½
18	--	4½	8	12½
19	36	38	--	38
20	29	17½	8½	26

TABLE 37 (Cont.)

DAILY LABOR SPENT BY CHOM FARM STAFFS

Date	Animal labor	Human labor		
		On farm	On coop. work	Total
	buf-hr	man-hr	man-hr	man-hr
Aug 21	32	18	6½	24½
22	19	28	7	35
23	17	41½	--	41½
24	8	16	4½	20½
25	--	19	7	26
26	--	14½	3½	18
27	--	21	15	36
28	--	4	16	30
29	--	2	22½	24½
30	--	14	14	28
31	--	8	4	12
Sept 1	--	8	9	17
2	--	27½	10	37½
3	--	12½	11½	24
4	--	19	7	26
5	--	21½	3½	25
6	--	19	--	19
7	--	17	--	17
8	--	12	--	12
9	--	24	--	24
10	--	6	--	6
11	--	11	3	14
12	--	9	--	9
13	--	6	--	6
14	--	2	--	2
15	--	8	--	8
16	--	3½	--	3½
17	--	4½	--	4½
18	--	2	--	2
19	--	2	3½	5½
20	--	2	12	14
21	--	2	7	9
22	--	2	11	13
23	--	2	7	9
24	--	2	--	2
25	--	2	14	16
26	--	2	14	16
27	--	2	14	16
28	--	16	--	16
29	--	2	7	9
30	--	2	--	2

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TABLE 37 (Cont.)

DAILY LABOR SPENT BY CHOM FARM STAFFS

Date		Animal labor	Human labor		Total
			On farm	On coop. work	
		buf-hr	man-hr	man-hr	man-hr
Oct	1	--	2	--	2
	2	--	2	--	2
	3	--	2	--	2
	4	--	2	--	2
	5	--	2	--	2
	6	--	2	--	2
	7	--	2	--	2
	8	--	2	--	2
	9	--	2	--	2
	10	--	2	--	2
	11	--	2	--	2
	12	--	2	--	2
	13	--	2	--	2
	14	--	2	--	2
	15	--	2	--	2
	16	--	2	--	2
	17	--	2	--	2
	18	--	2	--	2
	19	--	2	--	2
	20	--	2	--	2
	21	--	2	--	2
	22	--	2	--	2
	23	--	2	--	2
	24	--	2	--	2
	25	--	2	--	2
	26	--	2	--	2
	27	--	2	--	2
	28	--	2	--	2
	29	--	2	--	2
	30	--	2	--	2
	31	--	2	--	2
Nov	1	--	2	--	2
	2	--	2	--	2
	3	--	2	--	2
	4	--	2	--	2
	5	--	2	--	2
	6	--	2	--	2
	7	--	5	--	5
	8	--	2	--	2
	9	--	2	--	2
	10	--	2	--	2

TABLE 37 (Cont.)

DAILY LABOR SPENT BY CHOM FARM STAFFS

Date		Animal labor	Human labor		
			On farm	On coop. work	Total
		buf-hr	man-hr	man-hr	man-hr
Nov	11	--	2	--	2
	12	--	2	--	2
	13	--	2	--	2
	14	--	2	--	2
	15	--	2	--	2
	16	--	2	--	2
	17	--	2	--	2
	18	--	2	--	2
	19	--	2	--	2
	20	--	2	--	2
	21	--	2	--	2
	22	--	2	--	2
	23	--	2	--	2
	24	--	2	--	2
	25	--	2	--	2
	26	--	2	--	2
	27	--	2	--	2
	28	--	2	--	2
	29	--	2	--	2
	30	6	3	--	3
Dec	1	6	2½	--	2½
	2	6	1½	--	1½
	3	6	1½	--	1½
	4	8	2	7	9
	5	--	--	--	--
	6	--	--	--	--
	7	--	--	--	--
	8	--	2½	--	2½
	9	--	33	--	33
	10	--	--	--	--
	11	--	12½	4½	17
	12	--	8	5	13
	13	--	16	22	38
	14	--	--	15	15
	15	10	17	16	33
	16	10	30	19	49
	17	20	33	10	43
	18	22	34	15	49
	19	28	24½	21	45½
	20	28	19½	24	43½

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Gentral Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 37 (Cont.)

DAILY LABOR SPENT BY CHOM FARM STAFFS

Date		Animal labor	Human labor		
			On farm	On coop. work	Total
		buf-hrs	man-hr	man-hr	man-hr
Dec	21	--	4½	18	22½
	22	28	30½	21	51½
	23	28	43½	27½	71
	24	6	40	8	48
	25	6	21	18½	39½
	26	8	34½	--	34½
	27	8	24	18	42
	28	12	17½	24	41½
	29	--	14½	24	38½
	30	--	47	--	47
	31	--	14½	16	30½
Jan	1	6	23	24½	47½
	2	4	17	24	41
	3	6	26½	24	50½
	4	--	27½	32	59½
	5	12	25½	32	57½
	6	4	20	36	56
	7	12	25½	32	57½
	8	12	26½	32	58½
	9	--	34	15	49
	10	--	19½	16	35½
	11	--	25	9	34
	12	--	23½	18	41½
	13	--	23½	10	33½
	14	4½	32	11	43
	15	--	26	16	42
	16	--	10	9	19
	17	--	16½	15	31½
	18	6	21	9½	30½
	19	--	33	10	43
	20	14	25½	16	41½
	21	14	17½	10	27½
	22	--	32½	5	37½
	23	6	5½	9½	15
	24	--	74½	--	74½
	25	--	2½	8½	11
	26	--	22	--	22
	27	--	29½	--	29½
	28	20	47½	--	47½
	29	14	31	--	31
	30	20	24	--	24
	31	24	29	--	29

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 37 (Cont.)

DAILY LABOR SPENT BY CHOM FARM STAFFS

Date		Animal labor	Human Labor		
			On farm	On coop. work	Total
		Buf-hrs	man-hr	man-hr	man-hr
Feb	1	16	25½	--	25½
	2	16	39½	--	39½
	3	14	43½	--	43½
	4	--	34	--	34
	5	24	38½	--	38½
	6	8	22	--	22
	7	--	5	--	5
	8	8	10½	--	10½
	9	--	--	--	--
	10	--	--	--	--
	11	--	--	--	--
	12	--	--	--	--
	13	16	12½	--	12½
	14	--	16	--	16

243 433 water conditions is also a major factor militating against investment on fertilizer. As it happens, therefore, fertilization does not prevail in the decision making of Bangchan operators.

If the operator has any positive role at all in the production plan, it is in the selection of rice varieties. This topic has already been dealt with in the section on labor adjustment devices of the preceding chapter.

243 433 423 Finally, one of the most important organizational decisions involves the choice of the size of the farm. It has been observed that poverty in agriculture is as much a problem of farm size as of any other single factor. Most frequently, farm size is spoken of in terms of acres -- the land input. Although this measure is generally not sufficient, it serves the purpose quite well in single-crop farming areas such as Bangchan and all other rice areas in this country. In this study, therefore, farm size will be expressed in rai (two-fifths of an acre) devoted to rice.

Generally speaking, if the Bangchan operator is free [464 592] to choose the farm size that suits him best, his decision will be based almost entirely on the size of labor force under his command, which in turn depends largely on the size of his family labor. As it happens, most operators are not 243 free to do so. It was mentioned in the section on land tenure 427 of Chapter III that it was only the landlord-operator group, 464 actually 11 out of a total of 216 farm operators in Bangchan, 423 that had demonstratively shown sign of land saturation and

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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*243 433 [427] 1. Land: This element represents 22 per cent of the total cost of producing paddy (Table 38). Of this, 15 per cent is actual payment for explicit rent while 9 per cent is assessed value of implicit rent.

Among the cost items in Table 38, cash expenses include actual rent (13%), wages for pieceworkers (3%), wages for hired laborers (3%) and seeds and materials (6%), while imputed expenses include implicit rent (9%), value of family labor (31%), value of the operator's labor (13%), depreciation (10%) and interest on investment (11%). It is seen that cash expenses comprise only 25 per cent, while imputed expenses comprise as high as 75 per cent of the total cost.

In view of the high proportion of imputed expenses, the method adopted in the imputation will be explained here.

[427] [435] 1. Rent: Going rate for 1948-49 of 6.2 tang (49 baht) per rai was used.

* [592] [461] 2. Value of family labor: Labor requirement based on acreage was first calculated, using the standard factor of 13.4 adjusted rai to one fully employed worker (this was the 1949 average for farms with regularly hired laborers on which [435] workers were assumed to be fully employed). When the labor requirement in terms of number of fully employed laborers needed was known, imputed family labor cost was calculated at the going wage rate for the year of 1,600 baht (1,000 baht cash and 600 baht of food privilege).

3. Value of the operator's labor: In addition to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 280]

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TABLE 42

DISTRIBUTION OF FULL TIME LABOR FORCE OF 104 FARMS
Bangchan, Thailand, 1948

Condition of Regular Labor Force	Number of Farms	Number of Workers	Adjusted* Areas	Adjusted Rai Per Man
			rai	rai
Farms without hired laborer				
One family worker	8	8	131.75	16.5
Two family workers	28	56	497.50	8.9
Three family workers	25	75	646.25	8.6
Four family workers	20	80	747.50	9.3
Five family workers	10	50	487.25	9.7
Six family workers	--	--	--	--
Seven family workers	1	7	75.50	10.8
Eight family workers	1	8	83.00	10.4
Nine family workers	--	--	--	--
Ten family workers	1	10	107.50	10.8
Sub-total	94	295	2,776.25	--
Average	1	3.1	29.50	9.4
Farms with hiredlaborers				
a. With one hired laborer				
One family worker	1	2	58.50	29.2
Two family workers	5	15	177.50	11.8
Five family workers	2	12	108.00	9.0
b. With two hired laborers				
One family worker	1	3	70.00	23.3
c. With three hired laborers				
Two family workers	1	5	80.00	16.0
Sub-total	10	37	494.00	--
Average	1	3.7	49.50	13.4
Grand total	104	332	3,270.25	--
Average	1	3.2	31.50	9.8

* An "adjusted" rai equals one transplanted rai or two broadcast rai. Cultivation of one rai by the broadcasting method requires roughly only one-half the labor involved in the transplanting method.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

121 lies the main problem of Southeast Asia -- the problem basically of transition. Writing in 1949, Paul Mus rightly states: "The traditional world was not dead; it still held sway in the countryside. A state of affairs, in which the people's livelihood is calculated in terms of one world and their taxes in those of quite another, cannot endure."[2]

* 128 433 Degree of Self-sufficiency

During 1952-53, a consumption study was made on 106 sample-farms, which include the 96 continuing sample-farms and 10 new farms brancing off from the original sample-farms of 1948. Details of this consumption study will be discussed in the section on ordinary household expenses later in this chapter. For the purpose of the present discussion, Table 46 -- frequency distribution of degree of self-sufficiency of those 106 sample-farms -- is here introduced. By degree of self-sufficiency is meant the proportion of the value of home-grown products expressed as a percentage of the total value of annual consumption. Quantitatively speaking, it is seen that Bangchan farm families produce more than half of the things they ordinarily consume.

24 433 • [592] 000 However, the number of different products consumed which are produced by the family can be counted with the fingers of one hand. These are rice, fish, eggs, fruit and vegetables. On the other hand, there are scores of items

2. Paul Mus, The Role of the Village in Vietnamese Politics.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 296]